

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A. Summary

Based on the results of research conducted on the Role of Ulama in Supporting Indonesian Minority Groups: The case of Abdurrahman Wahid to Konghucu Religion in 1998-2001. Researcher discussed about the steps of Abdurrahman Wahid as Islamic figures and politicians in supporting the existence of minority groups in Indonesia and his driving factors in supporting such religion. The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Supporting Indonesia's Konghucu.

In this section the researcher discusses the Discrimination of Political Hegemony for Konghucu in the form of several discriminatory laws or regulations created to support the decisions and policies of the ruling regime. Based on the form of discrimination, the following are the steps and the driving factors of Abdurrahman Wahid as Ulama and Politicians in supporting of the existence of Konghucu religion in Indonesia:

1. The steps of Abdurrahman Wahid as Ulama and Politician in supporting the existence of Konghucu in Indonesia
 - a. As Ulama
 - 1) Controlling

As an Ulama, Abdurrahman wahid maintained control to the majority towards minority group. especially to NU members, where NU was one of the big Islamic organizations in Indonesia. As an elite figure in NU and positioned himself as an

Ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid took control and managed NU citizens to accept and blend with Konghucu. The control was intended to create peace for the Konghucu and create maturity of the state for NU citizens. From the explanation, Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama has maintained control and regulation to create stability in the event of a disruption due to the view of discrimination against minorities.

2) As a figure

Abdurrahman Wahid can give a good example to the community, especially about equality and mutual respect in living life and in another example he built friendship with Soerjadjadja, a Chinese businessman. They even collaborated in establishing Nusumma Bank in 1990.

3) As a role model

In this case Abdurrahman Wahid gave an example for good state and religion. Even as a leader, the role in protecting Konghucu on the basis of human rights can be a role model. Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama and chairman of the PBNU firmly issued a statement that he was responsible for the safety of the followers of Konghucu in Indonesia. In addition Abdurrahman Wahid gave instructions to members of the PBNU to accept and mingle with Konghucu group. This resulted in the return of ethnic Chinese Konghucu to Indonesia after fleeing abroad because they were thought to be the cause of the economic crisis in 1997 which caused major riots in 1998.

b. As Politician

1) Decisional role and enacted role

In this role leaders must be involved in the process of making strategies and making decisions in the organizations that they lead. Meanwhile enacted role is the real role and way someone actually performs the role. As a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid as President of the Republic of Indonesia issued regulations that free Konghucu believer from discrimination. These regulation are based on decision and enacted role as follow:

- a) The most monumental regulation is Presidential Instruction Number 4 of 1999 which issued an instruction to all officials in government agencies to implement presidential decree No. 56 of 1996 governing the revocation of the Indonesian Citizenship Certificate (SBKRI) for Indonesian citizens of Tionghoa group. Since then various activities related to Chinese culture are no longer prohibited.
- b) During his administration Abdurrahman Wahid issued Presidential Regulation No. 6 of 2000 which revoked Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 which was discriminatory against Konghucu. With the lifting of the ban, it was a way for the Tionghoa to revive their traditional culture, including the Konghucu religion.
- c) In 2000 Abdurrahman Wahid announced the Chinese New Year as a voluntary public holiday by issuing a Presidential Decree Number 19/2001 on April 9, 2001.

With the freedom to practice religion, Tionghoa people can express their desires, so the existence of these policies has impact on aspects of religion, impact on aspects of places of worship, impact on organizational aspects, and impact on social aspects.

2) As a leader

In this case Abdurrahman Wahid proved successful for interpersonal relations with those he led, for example he managed to establish good relations with minority and majority groups. He always defended and sided with minority groups, both in Muslim circles and followers of other religions. His defense and partisanship has been recognized in Indonesia and other countries in the world. He was also named the Father of Pluralism. The factors that influenced Abdurrahman Wahid in fighting for Konghucu rights are democracy as the pillar of equality in religions, religious tolerance, and interfaith and inter-religious dialogue.

2. Factors affecting Abdurrahman Wahid as a leader in fighting for Konghucu right

a. Sociological Background Factors

1) Educational factors

Al Azhar Islamic University was where he deeply studied religious sciences, and even got the opportunity to join discussion groups that were followed by Egyptian intellectuals. At that time Egypt was under the government of President Gamal Abdul Nasser who gave freedom of opinion and adequate protection for academics and intellectuals. In 1966 Abdurrahman Wahid moved to Baghdad,

Iraq and chose to study at the department of religion at Baghdad university. At that time Abdurrahman Wahid's political thinking was much influenced by the political conditions that occurred in Iraq. He went to Indonesia with the thought of starting steps to find the format of changes in the thoughts and actions of Muslims in Indonesia. Basically Abdurrahman Wahid took knowledge about religion, from which came an understanding of pluralism. This is based on his understanding of the verses in the Al-Qur'an. The single source doctrine of Islamic teachings is the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah. With Abdurrahman Wahid's ability to speak Arabic and his understanding of philosophy, and social theories, he was able to understand the contents of the verses of the Qur'an.

2) Work Factors

As academics, writers and politicians Abdurrahman Wahid has a free way of thinking and in that case also why Abdurrahman Wahid has a strong view of pluralism. In Egypt, Abdurrahman Wahid worked at the Indonesian embassy and this adds to his experience and ways of thinking about politics.

3) Relationship Factors

Abdurrahman Wahid as NU leader made surprising decisions including the birth of Nusumma Bank. Abdurrahman Wahid's friendship with Chinese people is indeed not just in the aspect of culture. The initiation of the founding of Bank Nusumma brought important memories for Indonesian Chinese. Abdurrahman Wahid wanted to show that Islamic organizations could cooperate well with a Chinese descendant.

4) Individual Political Orientation Factors

Factors of Political Orientation of Abdurrahman Wahid Individuals, can be seen from his thoughts that, he is not anti-Islamic or anti-Western. During his lifetime Abdurrahman Wahid was always consistent with three things, namely Islam and democracy, human rights, and pluralism. Gus Dur has given a trace of an inclusive political struggle in the country so that pluralism is not only limited to discourse, political chatter, or mere plans, but in real actions as he did towards Tionghoa and Konghucu in Indonesia.

b. Organizational factor

With a cosmopolitan educational background, and association with science, Abdurrahman Wahid has a more organizational orientation towards a tolerant Islamic approach, and he has the character in the political culture in which his leadership was charismatic. Charismatic leaders are usually born of religious groups who get religious education and have high morality. NU as an Islamic organization has its own perspective in political participation. Abdurrahman Wahid, as an elite figure in NU, established an Islamic political party called *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* (PKB), which was intended to represent the thoughts of NU members in the political process.

1) Factor in the organization's political interests

The insistence of NU interest in participating in Indonesian politics made Abdurrahman Wahid approve the creation of political parties and since then his political maneuvers began with NU through *Partai Kebangkitan Nasional* (PKB) Party. With its principles guided by the teachings of Islam and Pancasila, the main struggle is for the benefit of the entire Indonesian people, in this case not only for

NU members or Muslims but also for the nation. It was one of the factors that led Abdurrahman Wahid to behave in Pluralism and fight for the rights of minority groups without exception.

2) Factors of Characteristics and Direction of PKB's Political Struggle

Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB) as a forum for NU's political aspirations and struggles has the character of a Party based on the character and line of struggle where this Party was born. As *Jam'iyah Diniyyah*, which is obliged by amar *ma'rūf nahī munkar* in the life of the community, nation and state, both personally and in groups. In realizing such political life, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) has established political views and attitudes based on the basic principles of struggle. The basis of the struggle of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa rests on national values that are based and integrated by the values of truth, freedom, openness, freedom, just and civilized humanity, justice, honesty, equality, brotherhood, non-discrimination and gender equality.

From the above indicators, it can be seen that Abdurrahman Wahid is a person who fights for minority groups. It was evidenced by all his struggles, including the struggle when Abdurrahman Wahid became an Ulama or president that he made many policies that supported minorities. This can be assessed from his role as ulama who has several important indicators, namely as a figure, and as a role model, as Abdurrahman Wahid's figure and role model became an influence for all his worshipers. With that, the instructions from him will be followed by the his followers and congregation.

Meanwhile his role as a politician there are indicators such as decisional roles, enacted roles, and role as a leaders. In a decisional role and enacted role, Abdurrahman Wahid can influence policy and have the power to make policies. This is evidenced by the existence of regulations that were made to free Konghucu from previous regulations that were discriminatory. The indicator as a leader is also very influential like when Abdurrahman Wahid fought for minority rights. This is because when he became a leader many instructions were received and followed by the community like when he instructed the natives to accept and mingle with the Konghucu.

Besides, there are driving factors why Abdurrahman Wahid had a view on pluralism and defended their human rights. The most influential is social background, particularly education factors, in which the education factor indirectly builds Abdurrahman's thinking about his views on pluralism because he studied western ideas through discussions or reading books during his education. Factor relations is also the most important indicator because since Abdurrahman Wahid was still young, he has known people from different backgrounds so he can understand differences and appreciate them.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that Abdurrahman Wahid was fought for the rights of Konghucu, both when he became an Ulama and a politician. However the thing that was very influential for Konghucu was when Abdurrahman Wahid became a political actor. because when he was a politician, Abdurrahman Wahid was able to participate in policy making, where the policies produced can benefit the Konghucu, such as Confession of konghucu Religion,

recognition of the feast of Konghucu, and the liberation of building a place of worship.

A. Suggestion

1. General suggestion

Abdurrahman Wahid is one of the leaders of pluralism in Indonesia and even other countries have acknowledged how he defended minority groups. In the condition of a pluralistic of Indonesian state, fellow citizens should always act in mutual respect without discriminating culture, tradition, religion, or language. Building a sense of tolerance must begin with each individual so that the practice of the principles of the Pancasila can be realized. In essence, tolerance must be maintained in this country. With high tolerance, peace will be created between religious people in Indonesia, so that no more cases of blasphemy occur.

2. Suggestion for political actors

Having mutual respect among each other, establishing good relations between ethnicities, being able to participate in politics and national economic development, integrating and assimilating within the Indonesian nation as expected by Abdurrahman Wahid must be maintained by not prioritizing the issue of sara, race and religion to achieve power.

3. Suggestions for future researchers and college student

- a. For further research, it should be held on the character's thoughts in accordance with the disciplines they have.
- b. For students, it can be used as input for conducting research on Abdurrahman Wahid so that new theories are discovered.

